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name of Marawa ("spider") given to one of the early *Tamate* Societies which may be entered by a baby in arms.[1]

The other extension is more interesting, since it provides a connexion between the spider's web and the mortuary labyrinth mythology of Seniang, in South-West Bay. In the mythology of that area the Guardian Ghost sits by a cave on the sea-shore, having drawn beside her on the sand a labyrinth figure which the ghost of the dead man on his way to the Land of the Dead must know how to complete. If he cannot do this, she eats him. The drawing of labyrinth designs, based on the above myth but now largely secular in character, is a common pastime all over the Northern New Hebrides, where they are drawn with the finger in ashes or sand.[2] It is easy to understand how the spider's web spun by the Guardian Ghost in one area should become associated with the labyrinth design drawn by the Guardian Ghost in another. A tale combining both motives comes from South Raga, and relates how one day the deity, there called Barkulkul, when leaving his house, left his wife in it and "shut the door by making, with a liana, a design similar to a spider's web." When he came back, finding the design disturbed, he went to the men's house, where he said to the men, "Let us make drawings." They made drawings in the ashes, similar to spiders' webs, and when Barkulkul saw that his brother Marrelul made the same design as Barkulkul himself had made, he knew that it was he who had entered his house in his absence and seduced his wife. And so he killed him.[3] This story is, of course, a degraded one, but serves to show the widespread symbolism of the spider's web as a labyrinthine structure with a devouring monster in its midst.

Guardian Ghost as "Megapode."

Another interesting piece of symbolism in connexion with the Guardian Ghost is that found in North Raga, where Subwe is also called Malau,[4] which means bush-turkey, or megapode. This remarkable bird has huge claws, with which it digs long tunnels into the ground in which to lay its eggs.[5] The habits of the bird are largely nocturnal, and at night it emits wailing cries. These cries are associated with ghosts, and the tunnelling activity recalls the underground world where the Guardian Ghost lives, which, in the case of Vao, is, as we shall see, a cave. Yet further, the megapode favours volcanic soil on account of the extra warmth it supplies for hatching eggs,[6] and volcanoes are also, as we shall see, connected with

[1] Rivers, 1, vol. I, p. 110. [2] See Chapter XXV. [3] Tattevin, 2, 1929, p. 988.
[4] Rivers, 1, vol. I, p. 189. Compare also Atimis Malau in South-West Bay.
[5] The New Hebridean megapode, *megapodius layardi*, does not build mounds like other members of the species (see p. 752). In Matanavat on the north coast of Malekula, the bird, there called *mala*, is semi-sacred. "If one village gives a scrub-turkey to another, that is a token of permanent peace." Such exchange is there even more sacred than the exchange of hawks (Harrisson, 2, p. 55).
[6] Rivers, 1, vol. II, p. 461.

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CHAPTER XII

THE MAKI: GONGS, SONGS, DANCES

SLIT GONGS

Two kinds: horizontal and upright.

INTIMATELY connected with the whole Maki rite are the upright slit gongs.

There are two types of slit gong in the New Hebrides:

(*a*) A length of bamboo or wood hollowed out by means of a longitudinal slit, which is laid horizontally on the ground and sounded by being beaten with a stick on one edge of the slit. This type is found widely distributed in Polynesia and Southern Melanesia, and in the matrilineal region of the Solomons.[1] So far as the New Hebrides are concerned, this is the only type of slit gong found throughout the group except in the cultural area centering round Malekula, where the upright slit gong predominates. Even in these islands, however, small horizontal slit gongs are combined in orchestras with the upright gongs. These horizontal slit gongs are usually plain, though in South Malekula they may occasionally be found carved with a face at one end, apparently in imitation of the upright gongs.

(*b*) Upright slit gongs made out of the trunks of forest trees, in which a vertical slit is made, through which the trunk is hollowed out by means of shell adzes, leaving a thickness of two or three inches of wood all round. The cylinder so formed is left closed at both ends, the lower end being buried in the ground and the upper end carved to represent a human face. The gong is thus at the same time a statue, and the sound produced by striking one edge of the slit is said in some districts (though I was not told this on Vao) to represent the voice of the ancestral ghosts. These magnificent instruments, sometimes as much as ten feet high, have, compared with the horizontal slit gongs, a very restricted area of distribution. They are found only in Malekula, Ambrim, Epi and Fate. Thus, if we except Fate (about which we have no information as to the presence or absence of a graded society), their distribution is seen to coincide exactly with that of the Maki and of the monolith as the most characteristic monument erected for the higher ranks.[2]

[1] Rivers, 1, vol. II, pp. 459-60. Rivers points out that they are absent from the Western Solomons, where the influence of the betel people have ousted many features of the culture of the kava people to whom he attributes the introduction of these instruments.

[2] See Chapter XXVI, pp. 697, 712, 717.

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PLATE XIII, 1 and 2

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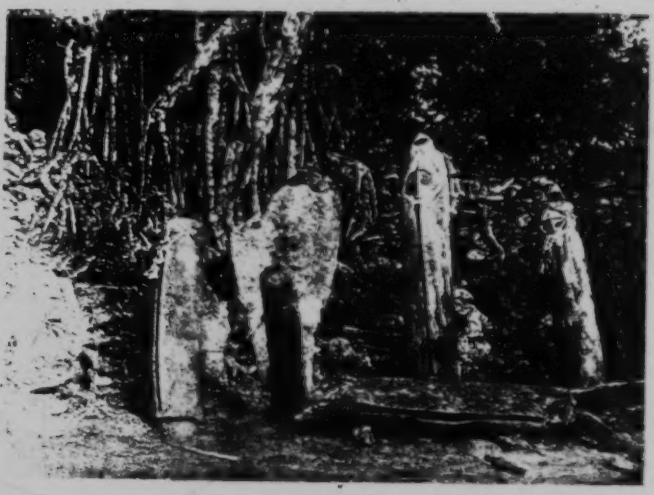

1. Main portion of the gong-orchestra at Pete-hul including mother-gong. Behind, a large monolith and part of the stone-platform. (*See Frontispiece and Plate* II, 2)

2. Continuation of the above to the right. Old gongs, dolmens, and rack displaying the tusked jaws of sacrificed boars

[Facing p. 310]

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PLATE XIV

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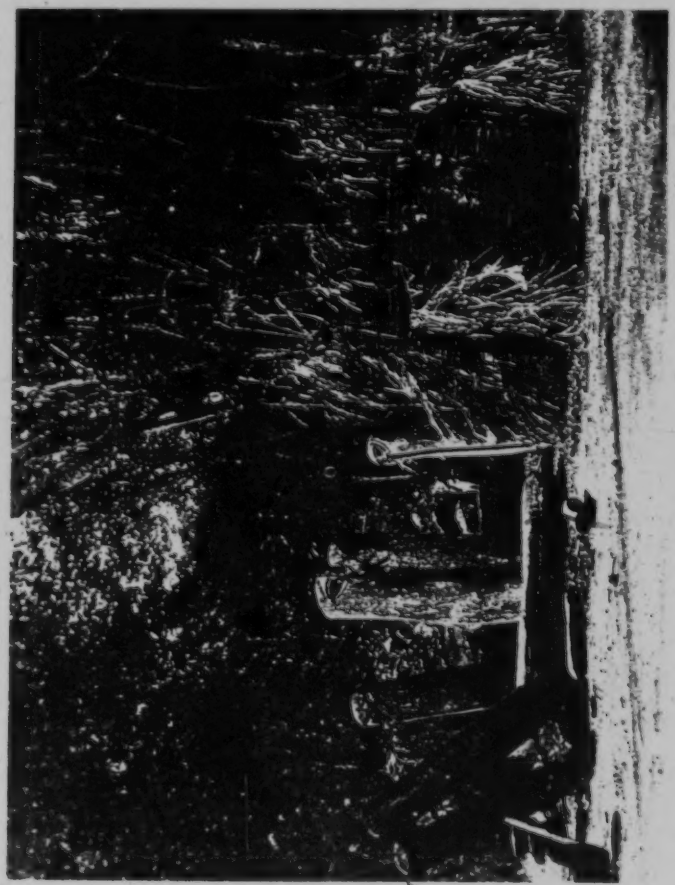

Gong-orchestra at Togh-vanu. Note the old prostrate gong on which the leader of the orchestra sits while playing the mother-gong. In front lie two portable gongets. The screen on the right encloses the most recently erected dólmen

[facing p. 34]

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shell adzes [1] through a narrow slit called *piriov* [2] running longitudinally down the face of the gong and equal in length to the circumference of the gong. Either right or left lip of this slit is thick, and the other thin, and it is on the thin edge that the gong is struck. Hence the thick edge is called *vivi mbut*, the "dumb" lip, and the thin one is called *vivi tang*, the "crying" lip. The solid part between the top of the slit and the top of the gong is called *pet vatu*, "head of the stone," and it is on this that the human face (*n'aghon*) representing the ancestors is carved.

I will make no attempt to describe the carving of the face, which can

FIG. 47

Upper part of a gong in the dancing-ground of Venu on the Inferior Side of Vao. Note the very different style of carving from that of the mother-gong at Pete-hul. Jaws of two tusked boars sacrificed at its consecration are attached to the gong by strings.

be examined in the accompanying illustration. The nose is in all cases long and narrow, and the cheek-bones clearly defined. It is worth noticing the eyes, which have a curiously Mongolian or Micronesian look, except in one case, that of the mother-gong at Pete-hul, where, as in the case of

[1] Nowadays iron tools are used.

[2] This word is primarily applied to the creeper by means of which the expert magician measures its length before it is cut (see p. 354).

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the wooden images, they are round. In all cases the place of the mouth is occupied by the top of the slit, since it is by means of this slit that the sound representing the voice of the ancestors is made. The nostrils and eyes are pierced, and it is to the holes so made, as well as to the pierced projection usually left on the top of the gong, that the jaws of the boars sacrificed in honour of the gongs are hung.

THE RITES

Rites connected with the Felling and Transportation of the Log

Since no trees of sufficient size grow on the island, these must be sought on the mainland, and the future owners' first act is to select the trees and to agree on a suitable price with the owners of the land.

Once this has been done, proceedings are in the hands only of the Maki-men and of their introducing "line."

Weeding the dancing-ground.

The first thing to be done, as for all major rites, is the weeding and general tidying up of the dancing-ground. This, like all such work, is done by the members of the introducing "line." Unless the dancing-ground has got badly out of hand the work is not heavy, and is done largely by the older men, not excluding the "maker of the Maki" himself, whose particular pride it is that this half-sacred ground, where he himself spends so much of his time sitting about, should be in good order. The fact that this initial work is about to take place is announced to all the villages on the island by messengers, who take with them gifts of what I have called "message-yams," single yams of fine quality to each of which a croton leaf has been tied as indication of their ambassadorial nature.[1] These are duly delivered in the dancing-ground of each village in the prescribed order, beginning with that furthest away from the home-village.

In addition to this, the members of each village are presented with a pig, and also a fowl which is a sign of peace. These are to be killed and eaten, and the resulting feast is of the kind called *masean*, which (in contrast to *tamean*, which is a feast given in return for work done) is a pure gift, demanding no labour and no return.[2]

[1] For a general account of this and of all ritual distributions of yams see pp. 301 ff.

[2] This *masean* feast is in the nature of an opening ceremony, the purpose of which is to usher in the whole series of rites. Most other feasts are of the type called *tamean*. Just as the word *masean* is used for a feast for which no return is expected, so the word *ma-masan* (Atchin *matsing*) is used for work which a man does for his own sake, such as gardening and so on, as opposed to what Godefroy refers to as "forced labour" done for others (Godefroy, 1934, p. 210; see p. 535). Compare also Mota *mateğas*, "a gift" (Codrington, 2, and Rivers, 1, vol. I, p. 66).

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Sacrificers approach dolmen adorned with insignia of rank and carrying a club and wooden pig-killer.

For this purpose he has donned all the insignia proper to his previously acquired rank. In his hair he wears hawks' or cocks' feathers, black or white according to rank, together with red hibiscus flowers and leaves of golden fern. His biceps are adorned with shell-bead armlets worked in geometric designs representing a hawk's face and other symbols, and on his wrists he wears as bracelets the tusks of boars sacrificed on former occasions. His face is painted black. In his left hand he carries a club, and in his right hand a wooden pig-killer (see Plate X, 2) carved out of a forked branch of which the longer arm is the handle and the shorter the striking part which ends bluntly so as to crack the victim's skull or at least stun it so that it can be despatched later. The handle, roughly one foot three inches long, is incised with geometric patterns, and the fork often carved to represent a man's head, of which the prolonged chin stretches towards the striking end. The whole pig-killer is painted red, yellow and blue, and the magnificence of the carving varies with the sacrificer's rank.

Tusked boar sacrificed on dolmen. Its soul enters the sacrificer, whereon he assumes his new title and rank.

I did not myself record the actual position of the boar at the moment of sacrifice. Godefroy, however, describes how it is lifted on to the dolmen, where it is made to stand on its hind-feet, while its fore-feet—its arms as the natives say—rest on the fore-arm of the man about to sacrifice it.[1]

It is at this moment of striking, whether the victim is actually killed on the spot or merely stunned to be despatched later, that the title already bestowed on the tusked boar devolves, with the supposed passage of its soul, upon the sacrificer himself.[2]

Thus, though the sacrificer has already acquired one new title and name by means of the mass sacrifice in the afternoon, he now, by this yet more holy act, acquires a second, this time of high rank, and, as he sacrifices, he calls out, in a loud voice so that all can hear, his new title together with his new name, saying "*Ne-haku* M . . .," "My name is M . . ."[3]

The victim is not eaten by the sacrificer but by a member of another village, most probably, as will be seen later, by the mother's brother.[4]

[1] Godefroy, I, 1933, p. 37.

[2] See p. 258.

[3] For new titles and names so taken, see pp. 431 ff.

[4] See p. 725. The only record I have is of boars sacrificed at Pere-hul being taken to Peter-ihi.

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Small coastal canoes.

The hull is in all cases made of a single hollowed log, the dug-out. In the smallest coastal canoes there are no thwarts, the chief paddler sitting on the flattened stern and the rest on the three outrigger booms (*ne-wu*) where these cross the body of the dug-out.[1] There is a rail lashed along each gunwale, and it is to these two rails that the outrigger booms are themselves lashed. The booms are attached to the outrigger float (*na-sam*) by means of sticks driven diagonally into holes in the float in such a way that the sticks cross one another, and it is to these sticks that the booms are made fast by means of further lashings. All lashing is done with lengths of plaited coconut sinnet (*na-wun*). Made fast to the bow of every canoe is a prow-head carved to represent the highly stylised wings and beak of a bird. These prow-head figures are called *na-ho*, and their main peculiarity is that the cleft representing the space between the mandibles is continued down the gullet. Peculiarities in the carving of these figure-heads indicative of the wealth and importance of their owners are jealously guarded, and may only be copied on payment of a high fee in pigs.[2]

A good-sized specimen of such a canoe capable of carrying eight men and illustrated in Plate XIX was found by Speiser to be 9 metres long and ½ metre broad. The float was 5 metres long and 5 metres distant from the hull.[3]

Large coastal canoes.

The larger coastal canoes (such as that illustrated in Fig. 54) have their sides heightened by means of planks, or wash-strakes (*ne-rev*),[4] lashed on to each side of the hull through holes (*mete-mbò*) bored along the side of each plank, the holes then being plugged with coconut sheathing and the seam yet further protected by means of split bamboos, served with soft string, round which the lashing is made fast. The rear end of the planking is made flush with the stern, but in front a special bow-piece (*soron*) is added, in the form of a short piece of hollowed log, the after-end of which is cut flush with the foremost plank. In such a case, it is to this bow-piece that the bird figure-head is attached. Thwarts (*gheatat*) may be added at will, and along the whole forepart of the canoe

[1] I know of no seat consisting of "small boards almost on the bottom of the hull" such as is referred to by Speiser, 3, p. 251, quoted by Haddon, 3, vol. II, p. 26.

[2] Two examples are illustrated by Speiser, 3, Plate 64, Figs. 1 and 2. For actual specimens from the neighbouring island of Atchin see Layard, 1, Nos. 136 c and 137. Mr. Tom Harrisson tells me that these figure-heads represent either the frigate-bird or the shearwater (see Appendix II).

[3] For further measurements see Speiser, 3, pp. 250-1.

[4] Compare Mota *irav*, "board, slab of wood, in canoe, and house" (Codrington, 2).

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PLATE XXIV

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1. Rain-stone used in the weather magic described on p. 635, of which two sides are carved to represent the human face, the third a shark, and the fourth (not seen in the illustration) a caterpillar

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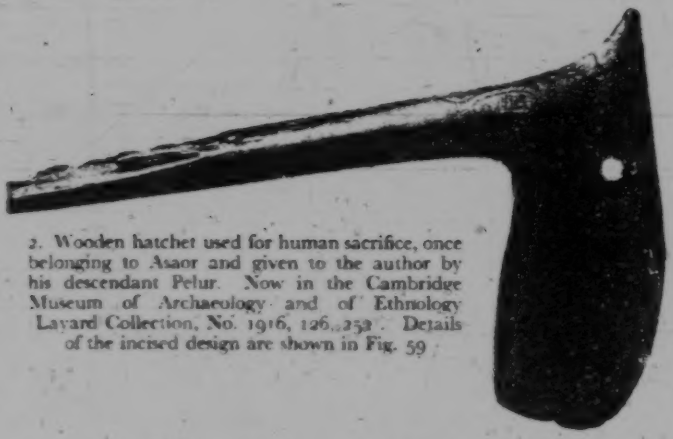

2. Wooden hatchet used for human sacrifice, once belonging to Asaor and given to the author by his descendant Pelur. Now in the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and of Ethnology Layard Collection, No. 1916, 126..252. Details of the incised design are shown in Fig. 59

[facing p. 623]

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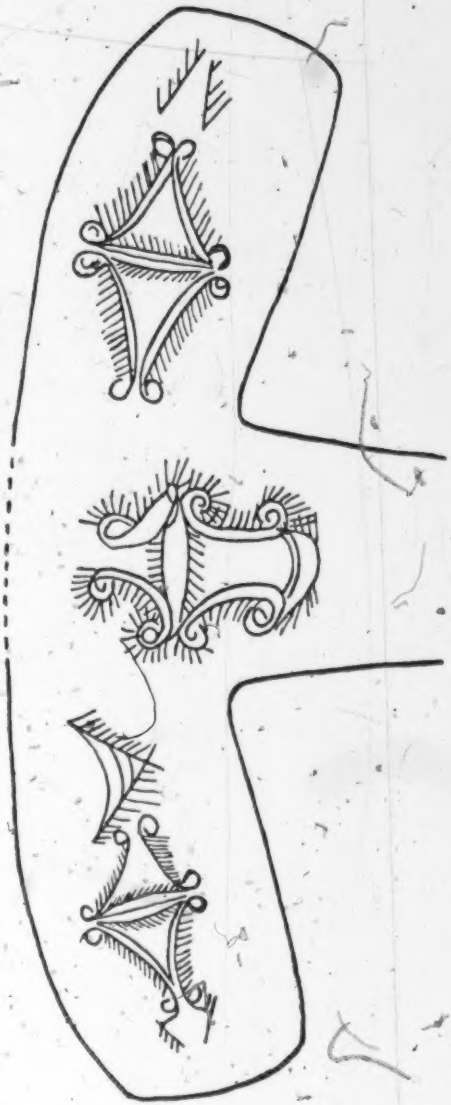

FIG. 59

Designs incised on the wooden hatchet used for human sacrifice figured in Plate XXIV.
The hatchet is single-bladed and made out of one piece of wood. The tracing shows the designs on either side of the blade and on the rounded back. The patterns are all carried out in the hatched technique used frequently in body painting. The three main designs, each consisting of two scrolled triangles set with their bases together, are said to represent lice (*no-hui*). The single hatched triangle represents the sail of a canoe.

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(1) *Concrete medium and action.*

A rain-maker on Vao is called *bet-ghate*, meaning "one stone," and the medium through which he works is a diminutive stone image of phallic proportions, which is regarded as representing both the founder of the rite and all those who in turn have used it, to all of whom the petition for rain is made. One such stone obtained on Atchin is illustrated in Plate XXIV. It is made of what looks like lava with a coating of brown paint. It is 4¾ inches high and 2 inches broad, shaped like a cylinder with a flat base so that it can stand upright, and rounded at the top. Two opposite sides of the cylinder are carved to represent the human face in a conventional manner called *wena*,[1] a third side is carved to represent a shark, and the fourth side, opposite to the shark, is incised with a design said to represent a hairy caterpillar called *shu-shu*. The uncarved portions of the stone on all sides excepting that depicting the caterpillar are incised with criss-cross lines representing a kind of reed fence called *nier merer*, the right to use which is possessed by those of high Maki rank.[2]

FIG. 60

Design representing a hairy caterpillar called *shu-shu* incised on the fourth side (opposite the shark) of the rain-stone illustrated in Plate XXIV.

This stone is placed in the midst of a pudding (*na-longk*), from which it is supposed to eat. Then 4 young coconuts in the stage of growth called *we-garat*, in which the milk has not yet begun to solidify, are placed upon it, and the pudding containing the stone image together with the 4 young coconuts are all wrapped in umbrella-palm leaves (*ro-mbun*). At low tide, the rain-maker takes this parcel and places it on a rock. Then he shuts his eyes and sings in a low voice the song appropriate to the

[1] This and the following two terms are in the Atchin language.

[2] Deacon (4, pp. 664, 670) mentions two stones used for sun magic in Lambumbu. He also figures (Fig. 40) a cylindrical black polished stone, uncarved save for one bevelled conical end, used in garden magic to ensure a prolific yield in yams, from South-West Malekula. Rivers (1, vol. II, p. 406) speaks of "stones or other objects which are believed to possess *mana*" in the Banks Islands.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
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CHAPTER XXV

SAND-TRACINGS FROM VAO AND ATCHIN

BASED ON THE LABYRINTH MYTHOLOGY OF SOUTH-WEST MALEKULA

1. EXPLANATORY INTRODUCTION

The Setting.

AMONG a people whose artistic sense is expressed primarily not in the plastic arts but in dramatic performances and in the elaboration of ritual, one element of culture that easily escapes the casual observer is that of the ingenious designs drawn by the natives in the sand or in the fine volcanic dust that covers the floor of the dancing-grounds or any swept space such as is found in any house-enclosure, or in the cold ashes of a dead fire. As, according to the mythological account given below, they are all derived from a design traced in the sand, I propose to refer to them throughout as "Sand-Tracings."

These designs, which used apparently to be drawn by women,[1] are now drawn by men as a kind of pastime, with which are combined the elements of a game of skill. The only tool used is the designer's own finger, with which the designs are traced. The Vao word for this is *ghir*, as opposed to the widespread Malekulan word *ul* used for painting.[2]

Continuous-line technique.

All the designs follow the same fundamental plan. First a framework is traced, consisting either of a number of straight lines set at right angles and crossing one another, or else of small circles set in a regular pattern. The pastime consists in tracing round and round and in and out of these straight lines or small circles a geometrical design formed of a single continuous line. In all cases the skill arises from the fact that once the continuous line is started the finger must not be withdrawn till the entire figure is completed.

Design called "The Path" drawn by the Guardian Ghost in South-West Malekula.

When I first noted the existence of these designs in the Small Islands I did not know they had any significance other than as pure games of

[1] See Godefroy, 1, 1933, p. 47, who adds "as they are still dor[illegible]men in Santo."
[2] Compare Mota *ul*, "to smear, paint, draw figures on a Tama[illegible]odrington, 2).

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531 skill affording at the same time a certain artistic pleasure. Subsequently Deacon recorded a great number from South-West and West Malekula, Ambrim and Oba.[1] In Laravat on the West coast of Malekula the designs are called *rolu*, and in Seniang *ni-tis*, from the verb *tis*, to "draw" or "paint," used today by Mission natives to designate the writing of Europeans.[2] Their importance in Seniang may be gauged by the fact

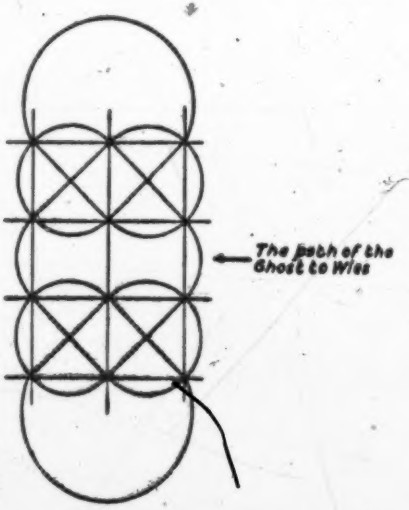

FIG. 61

Sand-tracing from Seniang called "The Path," representing the design drawn by the female Guardian Ghost, Temes Savsap, in the sand. As the dead man approaches she rubs out half the figure. The dead man must know how to complete it, and then walks through it to the land of the dead. If he cannot complete it, the Guardian Ghost eats him. (Deacon, 5, Fig. 52; Layard, 6, Fig. 9.)

that *ni-tis* is one of the four things by which a man may swear when making promissory oaths.[3] Deacon says "each design is regarded . . . as a kind of maze," and found that in the Seniang district in South-West Malekula they were all connected with a special design called "The Path" (Fig. 61), the drawing of which was an essential item in the journey followed by the ghost of every dead man to the land of the dead. According to this belief, "Ghosts of the dead . . . pass along a 'road' to Wies, the land of the dead. At a certain point on their way they come to a rock . . . lying in the sea . . . but formerly it stood upright. The land of

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[1] Deacon, 5. [2] Ibid., 5, p. 191. [3] Ibid., 4, p. 48.

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the dead is situated vaguely in the wooded open ground behind this rock and is surrounded by a high fence. Always sitting by the rock is a female [guardian] ghost, [called] Temes Savsap,[1] and on the ground in front of her is drawn the completed geometrical figure known as *Nahal*,[2] 'The Path.' The path which the ghost must traverse lies between the two halves of the figure.

"As each ghost comes along the road the guardian ghost hurriedly rubs out one half of the figure. The ghost now comes up, but loses his track and cannot find it. He wanders about searching for a way to get past the Temes [Guardian Ghost] of the rock, but in vain. Only a knowledge of the completed geometrical figure can release him from this impasse. If he knows this figure, he at once completes the half which Temes Savsap rubbed out; and passes down the track through the middle of the figure. If, however, he does not know the figure, the Temes, seeing he will never find the road, eats him, and he never reaches the abode of the dead."[3]

Sand-tracings represent labyrinths.

It is not within the province of this book to discuss this statement in detail. Subsequent research, based partly on an analysis of the designs themselves and partly on a comparative study of mythology and mortuary rites over a wide field, has shown, however, that the design called "The Path" is in fact a degraded form of labyrinth such as, in ancient Egypt and elsewhere, stood before the tomb representing the entrance to the future life. It is for this reason that it is described how the ghost "loses his track and cannot find it," how he "wanders about," and how "only a knowledge of the completed geometrical figure can release him from this impasse." The whole subject of these designs, together with that of the *na-leng* maze-dances described on pp. 336-9 with which they are closely associated, has been fully discussed in my paper on *Maze-Dances and the Ritual of the Labyrinth in Malekula* published in *Folk-Lore*, vol. XLVII, June 1936, to which the reader should refer for a more detailed analysis.

Labyrinth mythology connected with older layer in the beliefs regarding the Journey of the Dead, corresponding to those held in ancient Egypt.

It is, however, necessary to a proper understanding of the mythology underlying the Small Island designs to make two points clear. In the first place, it will be remembered that the beliefs concerning the Journey of the Dead in the Small Islands are divided into two cultural layers, in

[1] *Temes* means "ghost" (Vao *ta-mat*, Atchin *ta-mats*). Savsap is the same word as is used for the Guardian Ghost in the Small Islands, namely Le-saw-saw in Atchin, Le-hev-hev in Vao (see p. 219).

[2] A widespread word used with the same meaning in many parts of Malekula: Vao *na-hal*, Atchin *ni-sel*.

[3] Deacon, 5, p. 130.

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the earlier of which the dead are believed to have their home in a cave, while in the second the cave has been reduced to the status of a mere episode in a much longer story according to which the dead man walks right through it and, after undergoing various tests, finds his final home in the volcano on Ambrim.[1] These two layers of belief are far from being confined to the Small Islands and have close parallels in many parts of the world. Professor Hooke has indeed gone so far as to trace both layers of belief back to the two great religions of the Ancient East, showing the close connexion of the earlier Malekulan story, in which the home of the dead was located in or immediately behind a cave, with the beliefs current in ancient Egypt, and the later and longer story including the journey to the volcano with the Sumerian system as found in the Gilgamesh Epic.[2]

Of the two systems it is clear that the account given above of the dead man's journey in South-West Malekula belongs to the first, which shows close parallels with the beliefs current in Egypt. It is therefore not without significance that the labyrinth, well known in Egypt, should in Malekula be also associated with this early layer of megalithic culture.

Labyrinth a re-birth symbol.

What precise route this particular cultural trait followed is not known. It has, however, a wide distribution, as shown in a further study on *Labyrinth Ritual in South India* (*Folk-Lore*, vol. XLVIII, June 1937), from which, as well as from other evidence from many parts of the world, it is seen that among the many similarities in labyrinth ritual and belief certain facts stand out as being of special import, namely:

(i) that it always has to do with death and re-birth relating either to a life after death or to the mysteries of initiation;
(ii) that it is almost always connected with a cave (or more rarely a constructed dwelling);
(iii) that in those cases where the ritual has been preserved the labyrinth itself, or a drawing of it, is invariably situated at the entrance to the cave or dwelling;
(iv) that the presiding personage, either mythical or actual, is always a woman;
(v) that the labyrinth itself is walked through, or the labyrinth design walked over, by men.

Instances of labyrinth ritual from various parts of the world.

To take only a few instances: In the Malekulan account given above, the design is drawn and watched over by a female Guardian Ghost sitting beside a cave, and has to be completed and walked "through" before the

[1] See p. 231. [2] See Hooke.

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dead man can pass through the cave into the land of the dead, where he will be re-born into a new life after death. This doubtless explains Godefroy's statement that in Vao, as in Santo, the designs were formerly drawn by women. Among the Tamils of South India designs in some cases almost identical with those from Malekula are drawn by living Hindu women before the thresholds of their houses in the month when the sun dies and is re-born, and the designs are straightway walked over by their husbands.[1] A more classical instance is Vergil's account at the beginning of the *Sixth Aeneid* of how Aeneas, seeking to visit his father Anchises in Hades, first has to visit the female sibyl who guards the entrance, near which is a painted representation of the Cretan labyrinth, and of the well-known events connected with it.[2] Nearer home still are the Celtic stone crosses, symbols of re-birth, with their entangling designs. Rather later in time are the labyrinth designs executed on the floor of the nave or over the west door of many mediaeval Gothic churches, and the turf mazes which the village boys run round in our own country,[3] while today in parts of Scotland and north England women draw what in the north are called "tangled thried" designs on their thresholds and hearthstones as a prophylactic against evil influences or witches.[4]

Psychological significance: "Dream-walking" on Vao.

From this brief summary it will be seen that the labyrinth has a long cultural history. But it would not persist in so many places if it had not also a deep psychological significance. Many people have labyrinthine dreams in which they try to prove the mysteries of life. Somnambulistic phenomena also are often of this nature. Nor are such things confined to our own culture.

Godefroy describes a culturally recognised condition of dream-walking on Vao called *rel pul*, words which mean literally walking (*rel*) in a dream (*pul*).[5] He describes it as "walking in a dream, or rather a dream-state induced while a man walks about, which lasts all day long. I have a strong suspicion that the *rel pul* is a ritual act, since the dreamer must be in a state of fast beginning the evening before; he does not speak, he goes alone, with a switch in his hand, sits down from time to time, and if a friend joins him, such words as pass between them must be spoken in a very low voice. A man who is doing *rel pul* is never criticised nor regarded as being lazy (*nime mat-mat*, 'having the hands dead,' i.e. paralysed), as are those who stay behind on Vao doing nothing instead of going with all the rest to work in the mainland gardens."[6]

[1] Layard, 7, p. 124.
[2] See Knight. Till the publication of the Malekulan evidence this passage had remained a puzzle to scholars. Mr. Knight was the first to explain it.
[3] See Matthews. [4] See Banks, p. 78.
[5] Compare Atchin *por-por*, Mota *qore(-qore)*, both meaning "to dream."
[6] Godefroy, 1, 1934, p. 210.

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Malekulan labyrinth belongs to early unstereotyped kind.

158 Such dream-walking represents an introverted state sanctioned by
531 culture in which, so far as we know, the dream-walker follows no stereo-
171 typed route. It is therefore of interest when compared with the question of labyrinth designs, since in the early history of the labyrinth this also had no stereotyped form, being simply a complicated way intended to confuse or baffle those who were not familiar with its plan. Stereotyped forms of labyrinth such as that of the well-known labyrinth design of the coins of Knossos did not occur till the labyrinth had lost its meaning as a form of initiation through which the candidate wishing to solve the mysteries of death and re-birth had to pass.

Now used as games of skill and named according to the designer's fancy.

531 An examination of the Malekulan labyrinth designs shows that these
524 belong to such an early unstereotyped stage, since, of all those collected in Malekula and the neighbouring islands both by myself and Deacon, and in Raga by Miss Hardcastle and Dr. Firth,[1] no two are alike. Indeed, now that they are used as games of skill this tendency, as with cats' cradles, with which they are probably allied, now serves to stimulate the creative ingenuity of the natives, who, while certain designs, of course, become traditional and are copied over and over again, constantly invent new ones as an intellectual pastime. Each new design is given a name, as a rule to suit the designer's fancy, though in the case of one particular type, as will be shown, the names almost always have to do with ghosts.

Two Main Types of Design

531 While, as we have seen, the individual designer is at liberty to exercise his fancy to a certain extent, he is, however, in other respects strictly confined within the limits described at the beginning of this chapter, namely the tracing of a continuous-line design meandering in and about a framework consisting of:

A, straight lines, often set at right angles and crossing one another, which I will refer to as a linear framework; or

B, small circles set in a regular pattern.

While in actual practice these two types sometimes overlap, the two categories are nevertheless important, since each originally represented a different aspect of the labyrinth myth. The evidence dealing with the origin of these two types is set out fully and with reproductions of the most relevant designs in the article already referred to,[2] and can here only be summarised in a manner that might appear arbitrary were it not possible for the student to follow it out in detail in the article mentioned.

[1] Published in Deacon, 5.

[2] Layard, 6.

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Type A represents the journey through the labyrinth.

Put very briefly, the designs belonging to Type A with a linear framework represent the actual journey through the labyrinth, the framework itself representing originally the structure of the labyrinth (the actual walls and barricades) and the continuous line the path traced by the initiate on his way through it. It is characteristic of these that the continuous line has a definite beginning and end, marking the beginning and end of his journey. It is for this reason doubtless that the design drawn by the Guardian Ghost in Seniang, which the ghost of the dead man must complete and then walk over, is called "The Path."

Type B represents the body of the Guardian Ghost.

The designs belonging to Type B differ from those of Type A not only in the fact that the framework is made not of lines but of small circles symmetrically arranged, but also in that the continuous line, instead of beginning at one point and ending at another, is never-ending and curves round the small circles in such a way as to enclose a space. The prototype of these is a design drawn on a funeral coverlet representing the Guardian Ghost,[1] and an analysis of the designs belonging to this type shows that they all originally represented this ghostly person, the small circles representing her eyes, nostrils and breasts, and the never-ending line drawn round them representing the outline of her body.

2. THE DESIGNS

Owing to the fact that I did not make any attempt to make a complete collection of the designs drawn on Vao but only recorded those that happened to come to my notice, and since, owing to their popularity as games, they are culturally very mobile, I propose also to include in this chapter those which I collected on Atchin. As an introduction to the whole subject I propose also to reproduce two important designs collected by Deacon on Oba.[2]

TYPE A

REPRESENTING THE TRACK FOLLOWED BY THE INITIATE THROUGH THE LABYRINTH

(Formed of a continuous line having a beginning and end meandering in and around a linear framework.)

This type of design is divided into two sub-types, corresponding to two types of labyrinth construction in ancient Egypt.[3]

[1] See Fig. 72.

[2] The author has constructed a complete diagrammatic table showing the various stages of technological degradation seen in the 91 designs recorded by Deacon, those published in this book and others from Raga. This Table is too big to publish, but can be seen on request.

[3] See Deedes, and Layard, 6, p. 168 and Figs. 27, 28, reproducing Egyptian labyrinth designs after Sir Arthur Evans.

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SUB-TYPE A 1: PARALLEL-LINEAR

531 In the first type the labyrinth surrounded the structure representing the tomb through which access was had to the land of the dead, so that the initiate progressed from the outside of the labyrinth inward towards the centre. Designs of this sub-type, here referred to as A 1, characterised also by a tendency for the continuous line to be drawn in such

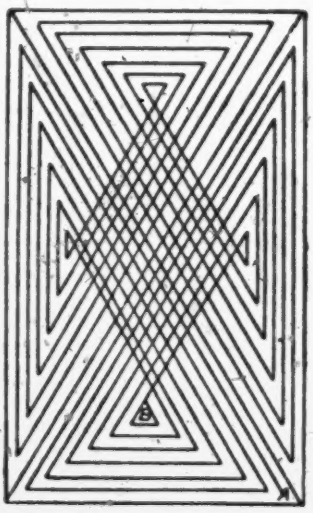

FIG. 62

Sand-tracing from Oba (Deacon, 5, Fig. 78; Layard, 6, Fig. 2 (a)), Type A 1. The framework consists of a rectangle with diagonals joining the corners. The continuous line starts on the periphery at A and ends internally at B.

a way as frequently to run parallel to itself, do not occur at all in South-West or West Malekula, but they do in the Small Islands and in Oba.

Fig. 62 is based on a rectangular framework with diagonal lines joining the corners. The whole of the rest of the design consists of a single continuous line which, beginning at the point marked A on the periphery, after crossing and re-crossing itself many times, finally ends up internally at B.

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Fig. 63 has a framework (shown by thick heavy line) based on the diagonals only, which are themselves twisted into a single line. The continuous line proper begins at A (in the same position relative to the

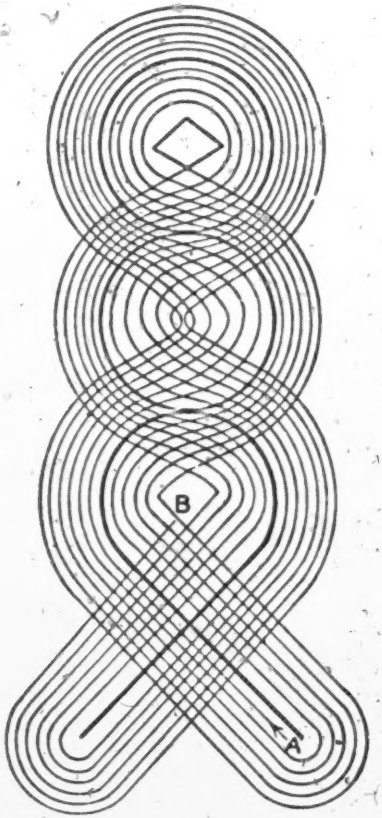

FIG. 63

Sand-tracing from Oba (Deacon, 5, Fig. 74; Layard, 6, Fig. 2 (b)), Type A 1. Linear framework denoted by thick line. Continuous line starts externally at A and ends internally at B.

diagonal as in Fig. 62) and, after crossing and re-crossing itself, ends up also internally at B. It will be noted that, owing to the lack of external rectangular framework in this design, the continuous line encloses the framework.

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53 This is the case also with the only example of this type which I collected on Vao, seen in Fig. 64. Here only the diagonals of the framework are present, set in the form of a cross in the same way as the lower part of Fig. 63. The continuous line begins at A, proceeding clockwise and ending at B, and so appearing this time to represent the outward

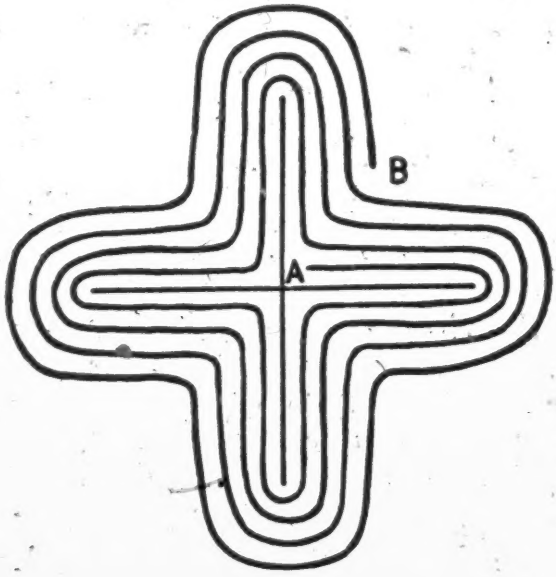

FIG. 64

Sand-tracing from Vao, Type A 1, called *na-ghimbò*, a kind of yam. The framework, consisting of two straight lines set at right angles in the form of a cross, is drawn first. Then the continuous line is drawn round it clockwise, beginning at A and ending at B.

journey. This design is called, for reasons unknown to me, by the fanciful name *na-ghimbò*, a kind of yam.

A similar, but somewhat simpler, design from Atchin, also called by the same name, there pronounced *na-himp*, is seen in Fig. 65.

SUB-TYPE A 2: CURVILINEAR

We have seen how, in the first type of labyrinth construction in Egypt the labyrinth surrounded the tomb, so that the initiate had to go from

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the outside of the labyrinth to the inside and vice versa. In the second type, however, the position of the labyrinth was changed, and instead of surrounding the combined tomb and the palace, stood before the entrance so that the initiate's path no longer led from the outside of the labyrinth to the inside, but through it from one end to the other.[1] It is this second form that we find mirrored in the beliefs concerning the

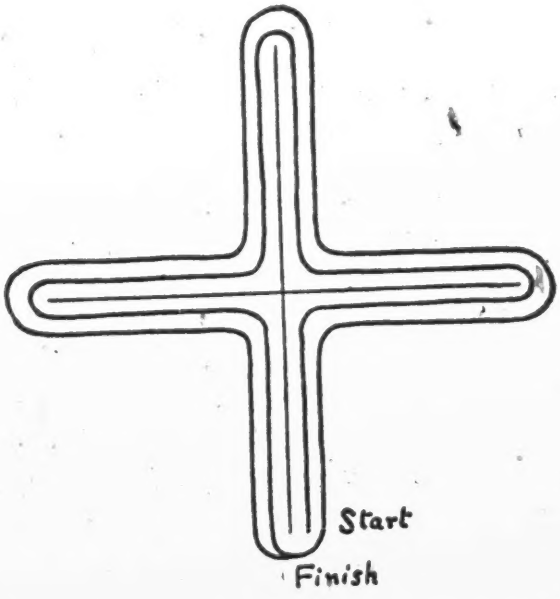

FIG. 65

Sand-tracing from Atchin, Type A 1, called *ss-hinp*, a kind of yam. (Compare Vao, Fig. 64.)

journey of the dead in South-West Malekula, and it is the designs of this type that are by far the most common in that island. The framework is still a linear one formed of straight lines, this time crossing one another at right angles. The path traced by the continuous line is, however, very different. In the first place it is curvilinear, thus differing from the parallel-linear form of type A 1, and in the second place it does not proceed from the outside inward or from inside outward, but, starting

[1] See Deedes.

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at one corner, meanders around till finally it comes out at some other corner. In the basic design of this type the exit is diagonally opposite to the entrance, and the continuous line curves round the intersections

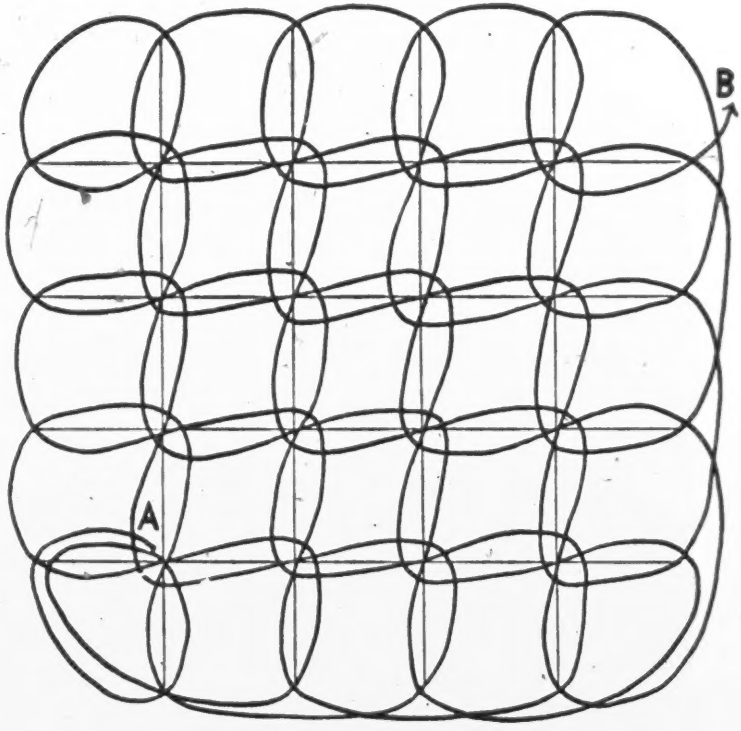

FIG. 66 (*a*)

Sand-tracing from Atchin, Type A 2, called *na-hit rin ta-mats*, "Octopus, food of the ghosts." The framework consists of two sets of four lines each, set at right angles to one another. This design is drawn freely, showing the continuous line sweeping round the intersections of the framework as a man would walk round the corners of an actual structure, starting at A and ending at B on the diagonally opposite corner.

of the framework as a man would round the corners of an actual structure, as in Fig. 66 (*a*) from Atchin, called *na-hit rin ta-mats*, "Octopus, food of the ghosts." [1]

[1] The octopus is a totemic animal and clan name in many parts of the New Hebrides.

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In the majority of cases, however, the labyrinthine symbolism of the designs has been lost in the interests of ingenious symmetry. Thus, Fig. 66 (*a*) becomes Fig. 66 (*b*), which is precisely the same design drawn

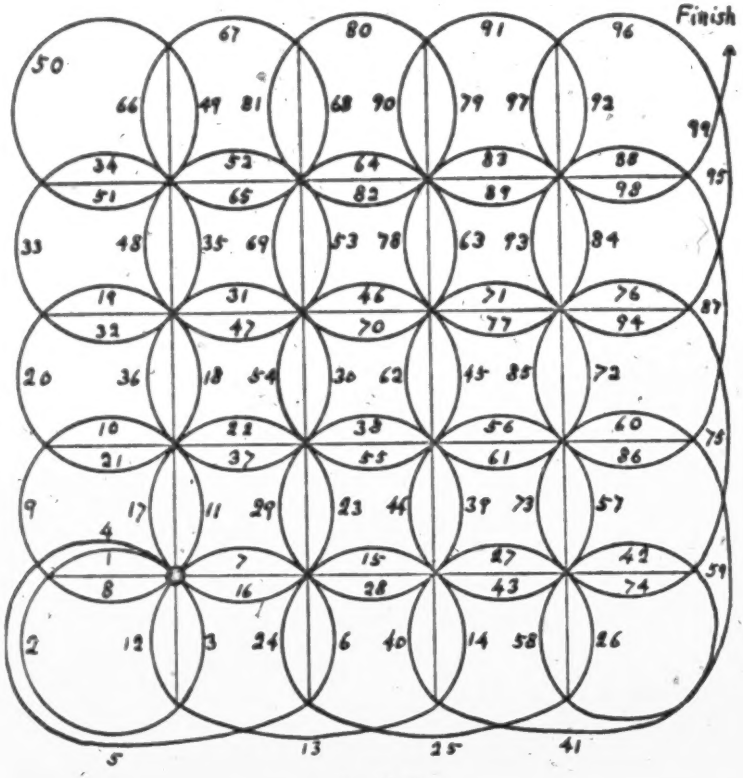

FIG. 66 (*b*)

Same as Fig. 66 (*a*), but with the continuous line passing through the intersections of the framework instead of round them. The numbers have been added to enable the student to trace its course. (Compare Deacon, 5, Figs. 38, 83.)

with the continuous line passing through the intersections of the framework instead of round them.

One direction in which these designs may be manipulated is seen in Figs. 67 (*a*) and (*b*) from Atchin, also given in two alternative versions. This figure is called *Ni-wat Bong-na-un*, "The stone of Bong-na-un." It

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will be remembered how, in the Vao version of the Journey of the Dead, the dead man comes to a promontory called Bong-na-un and there lights a fire to attract the attention of the ghostly ferryman on Ambrim.[1]

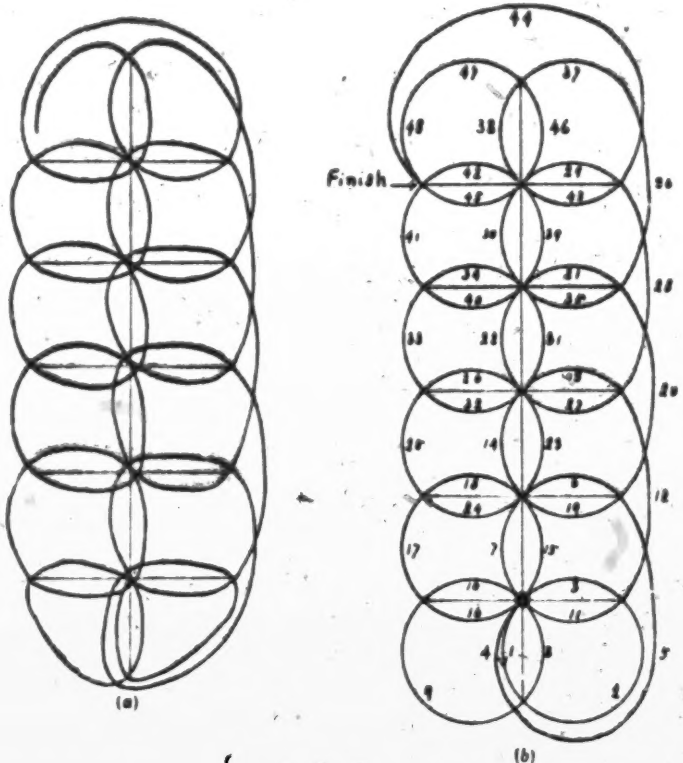

FIG. 67

Sand-tracing from Atchin, Type A2, called *Mi-ussi Bong-na-un*, "Stone of Bong-na-un," representing the petromorphic Guardian Ghost in the Wala version of the Journey of the Dead.
(*a*) drawn freehand,
(*b*) drawn as a geometric design.
The continuous line starts at the bottom and ends at the top. (For progressive stages in technological degradation starting from this model see Deacon, 5, Fig. 72 from Oba, and Figs. 58, 59 from Seniang.)

In the Atchin and Wala versions it is at this spot that they meet the female Guardian Ghost, and in the Wala version she is represented as dwelling in an upright stone standing in the sea. It is this stone that is

[1] See p. 228.

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here indicated, and it will be observed how the originally square design has been elongated so as to resemble an upright monolithic block.[1]

Further stages in ritual degradation making for greater freedom in the construction of pure design are:

(*a*) abandonment of the principle, properly belonging to this type of labyrinth design, that the continuous line should go right through the figure from one corner to that diagonally opposite to it; thus giving greater freedom in that it may come out at any corner that fits best with the design;

(*b*) incorporation into the continuous line of the diagonal lines properly belonging to the framework; and

(*c*) the extension of the continuous line in a bold external sweep outside the previously constructed figure.[2] This line may be manipulated in all sorts of ways, to imitate such things as the flappers of a turtle, crescent moons or conch shells, as seen in some of Deacon's examples.

I have no such realistic examples from the Small Islands, but the three principles listed above are all seen operating in Fig. 68 from Vao, in which the continuous line includes diagonal movements as well as the more usual curves, begins at one corner of the figure and comes out at another corner on the same side, finally completing the symmetry by making a complete external sweep enclosing the whole previously constructed design. This design is called *ro gialu*, a species of creeper frequently fed to pigs.

An analysis of this figure shows that it is constructed on a rectangular framework (*a*) formed of two sets of three intersecting lines crossing one another at right angles.

(*b*) The continuous line begins at one corner, J, and first describes a double figure-of-eight around each of the three vertical lines, ending at C.

(*c*) Then it repeats the process, describing three more double figure-of-eights round the three horizontal lines, beginning at C and ending at A. This should, from the mythological point of view, properly end the figure, since the continuous line has now come out at the corner diagonally opposite to that at which it started.

[1] See Layard, 4, pp. 122, 124.

[2] For simple examples of this see Layard, 6, Figs. 7, 8 (Deacon, 5, Figs. 37, 81).

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531 (*d*) However, since mythological conceptions have now given place to ingenuity of design, the continuous line now proceeds to link all the intersections of the framework with a series of diagonal lines, but,

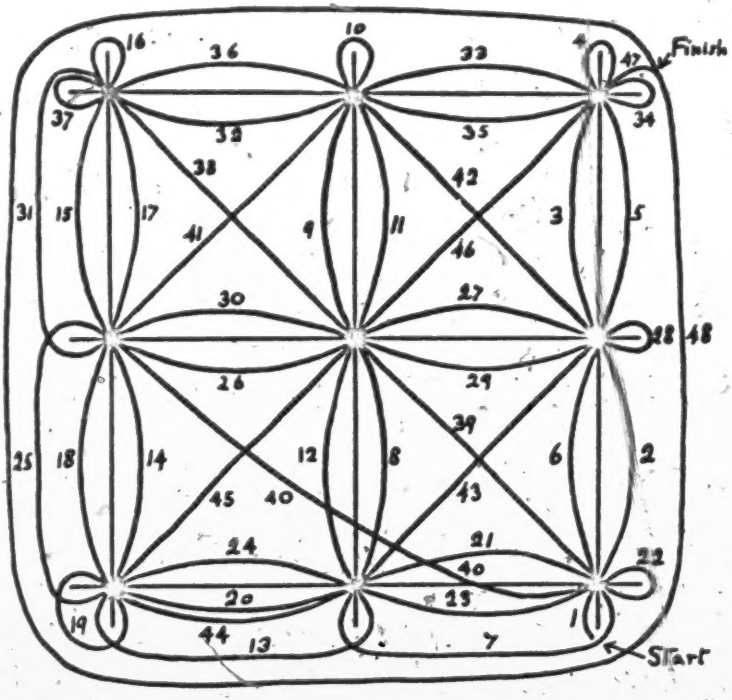

FIG. 68

Sand-tracing from Vao, Type A 2, called *ro gials*, a species of creeper frequently fed to pigs. The continuous line starts at one corner and comes out at another corner on the same side, includes diagonals as well as curves, and ends in an external sweep enclosing the whole figure. Compare mythological account of a creeper twisted into a design "similar to a spider's web" (see p. 668). (Deacon, 5, records numerous designs of this type.)

being a degraded design, it deviates somewhat between J and B, and F and C.

(*e*) Finally, it sweeps round the whole design, joining up with itself at G.

Another line of development is for the continuous line to be so manipulated as to join up with itself and thus become a never-ending

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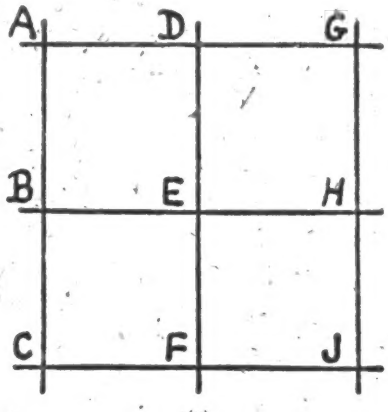
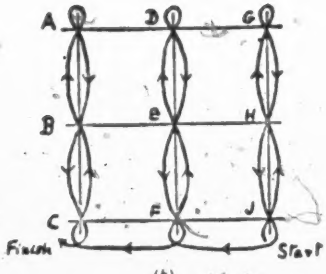


(a)



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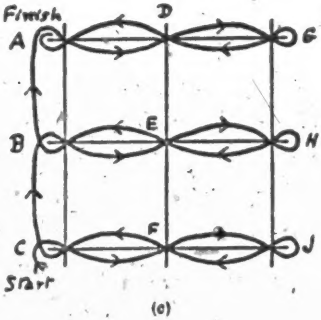
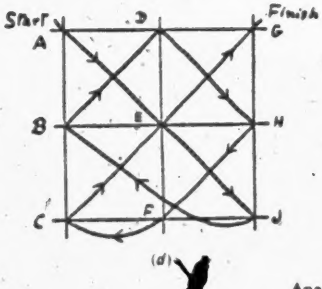
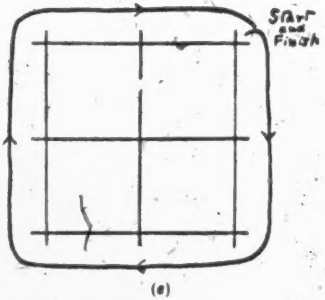


(c)



(d)



(e)

Analysis of Fig. 68

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line without the use of any additional external line. Such is Fig. 69 from Atchin, called "Five *tabakor* clubs" from its resemblance to ceremonial clubs of this name obtained by the natives of Atchin from Raga, and much prized on this account.

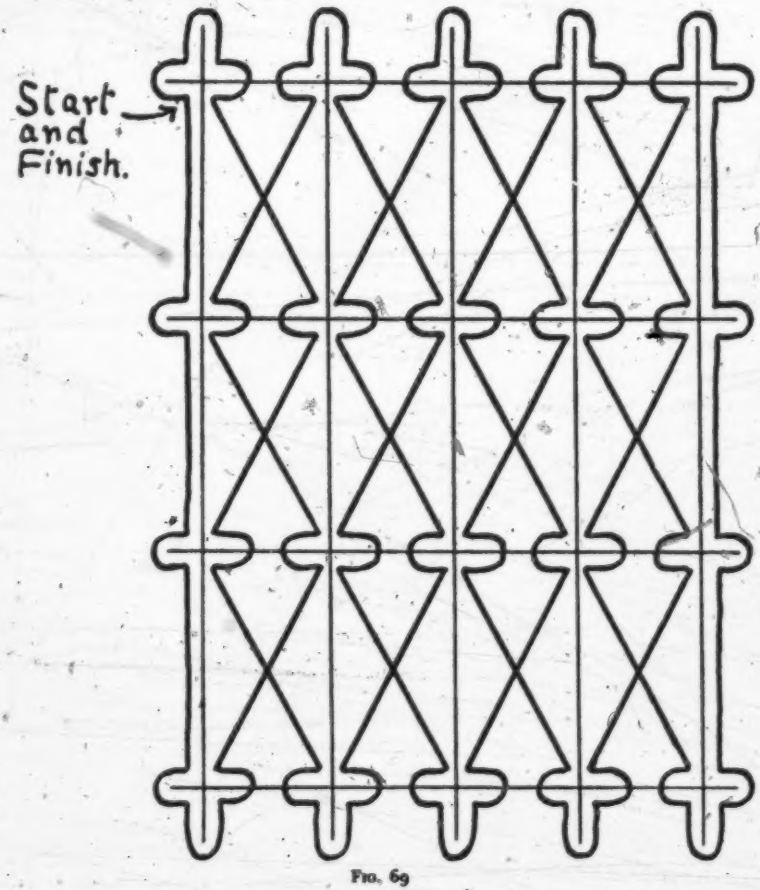

FIG. 69

Sand-tracing from Atchin, Type A 2 (modified), called "Five *tabakor* clubs." The continuous line has become never-ending.

At the end of this series we find once more a very simple design, Fig. 70, in which also the continuous line has become never-ending, being composed almost entirely of diagonals with loops on the outside

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of the figure where it turns. Simple as this looks, however, it will be seen that it is the heir to a long line of development through the stages outlined above. This simplified design, drawn in the volcanic dust on

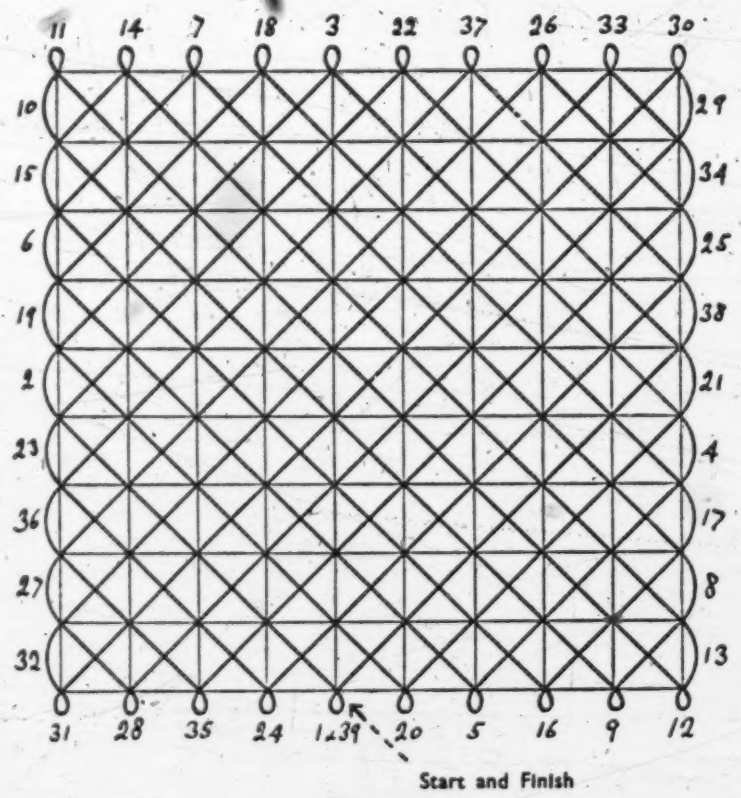

FIG. 70

Sand-tracing from Atchin, Type A 2 (modified), called *kalo wawa*, "The penis (?) of the *wawa* tree." The continuous line has become never-ending. (Compare Deacon, 5, Fig. 63.)

the floor of the dancing-ground of Olep, on the Superior Side of Atchin, bears the somewhat curious name of *kalo wawa*, "The penis (?) of the *wawa* tree," a tree prized chiefly for the sake of its soft but strong white inner bark used for making string belts.

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Note on "The Path."

These are roughly the stages in the technological degradation of the key design called "The Path" (Fig. 61) which, in the belief current in the Seniang district of South-West Malekula, the Guardian Ghost draws in the sand and which the dead man must complete and walk through in order to reach the land of the dead. The peculiar form of this figure is due to the fact that, while the knowledge of the precise function of the continuous line as representing the path through the labyrinth has been lost, the natives still know that the whole design in some way represents a path. Having, therefore, transferred the element of bafflement properly associated with the labyrinth to the dead man's alleged confusion and loss of direction before reaching it, the continuous line no longer fulfils any religious function, but instead the whole design has been so constructed as to leave a comparatively empty central space through which, in this now mythologically almost meaningless figure, the ghost of the dead man is said to pass.

Barkulkul, creator-deity in South Raga, bolts his wife's door by means of creeper in the form of a design resembling a spider's web.

An interesting way in which the labyrinth story has been adapted elsewhere in the New Hebrides is seen in the mythological account from South Raga cited on p. 222, in which it is related how one day the creator-deity, there called Barkulkul, when leaving his house, left his wife in it and "shut the door by making, with a liana, a design similar to a spider's web." When he came back, finding the design disturbed, he went to the men's house, where he said to the men, "Let us make drawings." They made drawings in the ashes, similar to spiders' webs, and when Barkulkul saw that his brother Marrelūl made the same design as he himself had made, he knew that it was he who had entered his house in his absence and seduced his wife. And so he killed him.

The interest in this story lies firstly in the use of a creeper, recalling Fig. 68, named after such a creeper and itself not unlike a spider's web. In the second place, it is important to note the position of the design made with the creeper on the very door of the house so that an intruder would have to break through it, in the same way as the ghost of the dead man in Seniang must pass through the design called "The Path" in order to penetrate into the cave. In the third place, it will be noted that the motive is a sexual one indicating something in the nature of a sacred marriage, resembling that of Theseus and Ariadne, seen also in the labyrinth dances performed at the marriage of a chief's daughter among the Big Nambas of the North Malekulan plateau.[1] In this case

[1] Harrisson, 2, p. 413; Layard, 6, p. 168.

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the inner sanctum guarded by the spider's web design is occupied by a woman, Barkulkul's wife. But a spider's web itself has a central point occupied by the spider which not only constructs the web in the same way that the female Guardian Ghost in Seniang constructs the labyrinth design called "The Path," but also sits in the middle ready to devour any outsider who ventures to disturb it in the same way that the Guardian Ghost devours the uninitiated dead. It is therefore highly relevant that, in Lakona in the Banks Islands, Supwe who, though male, corresponds to the female Guardian Ghost Temes Savsap, is called Marawa, meaning "Spider." What the Guardian Ghost depicted in the sand-tracings herself looks like will be seen in the next section.

Type B

REPRESENTING THE BODY OF THE GUARDIAN GHOST

(Formed of a never-ending line enclosing a space drawn round and about a framework consisting of symmetrically arranged small circles.)

We now come to a different type of design formed of a single never-ending line drawn round a framework of symmetrically arranged small circles.[1] This type of design, as we have seen, originated in a representation of the figure of the Guardian Ghost, the small circles representing her eyes, nostrils and breasts, and the encircling never-ending line the outline of her body. The evidence for this lies partly in two paintings connected with the mortuary ritual of Seniang in South-West Malekula. One is the design shown in Fig. 71 representing the Guardian Ghost, Temes Savsap, painted on a funeral coverlet. The second (Fig. 72) is a design painted on a hat forming part of a mask belonging to the Nalawan ghost society. With reference to this latter it is interesting to note that one of the Tamate Societies in Mota described by Rivers is called Wotlewona, derived from the words *me wota alo one* meaning "born in the sand," of which it is said "A woman was sitting on the sand making drawings, and she drew a design which a man saw and used as the pattern for the hat. A little while ago the Mota people made one of these hats, and went about with it." [2]

It will be noted that in Fig. 71, representing the outline of the figure, the small circles representing the eyes, etc., have disappeared, while in Fig. 72 they are multiplied beyond recognition. They are, however, easily recognisable as such in many of the sand-tracings of this type, most of which are named after ghosts or some other sacred objects. The most perfect example of this type I saw executed on Vao was

[1] Sometimes replaced by dots, and in one case by spirals.
[2] Rivers, 1, vol. I, p. 119.

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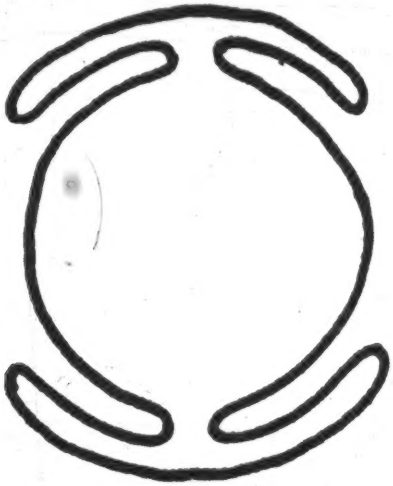

FIG. 71

Design representing the female Guardian Ghost, Temes Savsap, on a funeral coverlet in Seniang. (Deacon, 4, Fig. 52; Layard, 6, Fig. 18.)

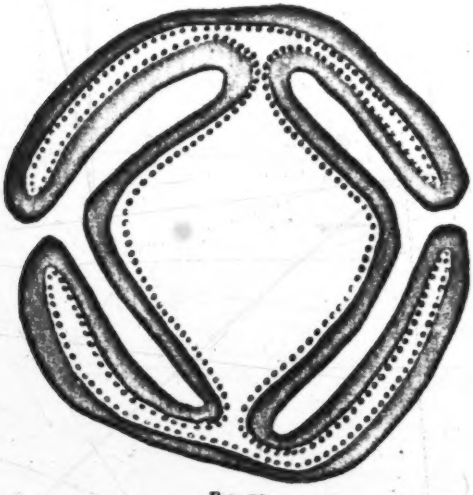

FIG. 72

Design painted on the hat forming part of a mask belonging to the *Nalemas* ghost society of Seniang, now in the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and of Ethnology, Jenning's Collection Z 11172. The thick lines are black, the enclosed space brown, and the dots white. The whole is on a whitish ground, on which other geometric designs are painted in thick black lines. (Layard, 6, Fig. 19.)

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Fig. 73 (*b*), drawn with the right forefinger in the volcanic dust that covers the floor of the dancing-ground of Togh-vanu. The first item to be drawn in this design was a central diamond (a comparatively rare feature) called *tangöv*, followed by sixteen small circles, as in Fig. 73 (*a*); after which the never-ending line was started at the point marked A and continued without lifting the finger from the ground till it had joined up with itself at the point from which it had begun, thus producing the complete design shown in Fig. 73 (*b*).

In this Vao Fig. 73 (*b*) it will be noted that the small circles numbered 12 and 13 are more or less recognisable as eyes (this is much clearer in Fig. 74), but what may be taken as the "arms" and "legs" have in each case been duplicated in the interests of pure design.

Connexion of these designs with arm-badges, cicatrisation and tattooing.

An interesting point is the name of this design, *wu-wör tangöv*. The word *tangöv* refers to the central diamond, a ritual pattern occurring as a badge of high Maki rank on shell-bead armlets and woven into the reed fences surrounding the house-enclosures of men of high rank. Its importance is shown by the fact that the name for one of the old forms of Maki on Atchin was Maki Tangöv,[1] and that the same word under the form Tangop is still used as a Maki title in Ambrim and East Malekula.[2] In this Vao design derived from a representation of the female Guardian Ghost it seems to occupy the place of the vulva.

The word *wu-wör* which precedes *tangöv* in the name of this design is the same as that used for cicatrisation by means of incisions made in the skin, which, though not practised on Vao, is characteristic of the Malekulan mainland.[3]

Cicatrisations of this kind may be made on any part of the body, but more particularly on the shoulder, as in the case of my informant marking the length of my nose as a memorial of me on his daughter's shoulder, seen in Fig. 87 on page 744. More usually, however, they are

[1] See future volume. [2] See p. 719.

[3] According to information obtained on Atchin, there are two kinds of cicatrisation. The first is called *uwör* (corresponding to the Vao *wu-wör*) and consists of simple incisions made with a sharp bamboo knife into which black ashes are rubbed in order to make a weal. Cicatrisations made in this way include geometrical designs called *wena*, said to represent the human face precisely similar to the sand-tracing Fig. 84 from Atchin. Another popular design is said to represent what the natives refer to as a "sea-snake," called *lumweik*. Other raised marks also called *uwör* are the designs carried out in relief on certain ceremonial clubs and on combs (see Layard, 1, pp. 77 and 85).

A second and more severe type of cicatrisation done on the mainland is called in Atchin *shül-shül hamb*, meaning "roasting" (*shül-shül* corresponds to the Vao *hul-hul*, and *hamb* to the Vao *amp*, "fire"). This is done by means of the dry midrib of a coconut frond, which is first burnt and then coated with some special kind of loose earth. Thus coated, the midrib is laid on the arm and there relighted, so that it smoulders, leaving a narrow black mark. In a few days this develops into a sore, which is not treated in any way, and when healed gives rise to a glossy raised keloid.

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made on men and serve as permanent badges, though, not being familiar with mainland practices, I do not know their precise function. The word *wu-wör* is of mainland origin, possibly related to the Vao *ghir* used for the drawing of these designs, since both processes consist in making

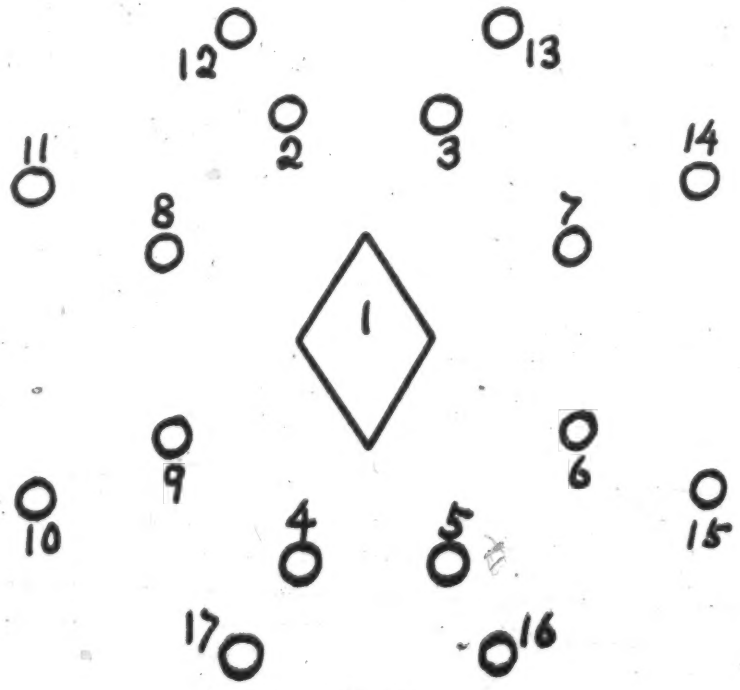

FIG. 73 (*a*)

Showing the framework for Fig. 73 (*b*), before drawing the never-ending line. The diamond was drawn first, and then the small circles in the order marked.

incisions, in the first case in the skin and in the second case in the sand or earth. The whole name may therefore be translated "diamond badge," or possibly "badge (or cicatrisation) of one who has taken the rank of Tangop or Tangöv."[1] A point worth noting about this is that cicatrisation in Malekula and the painting of the body in the Small Islands correspond to tattooing among those people whose lighter-

[1] It is interesting to note that one of the key designs collected by Deacon (see Layard, 6, Fig. 4 (Deacon, 5, Fig. 89)) is called *Wul' wul' nitimbu*, translated "Mark of Grandmother." It is probable that the real meaning of "mark" is "cicatrisation."

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coloured skins make tattooing possible, whereas on the darker-coloured skins of these natives it does not show up enough to be a practical measure. I mention this because designs almost exactly similar to many of the Malekulan sand-tracings of both types are found in South India both

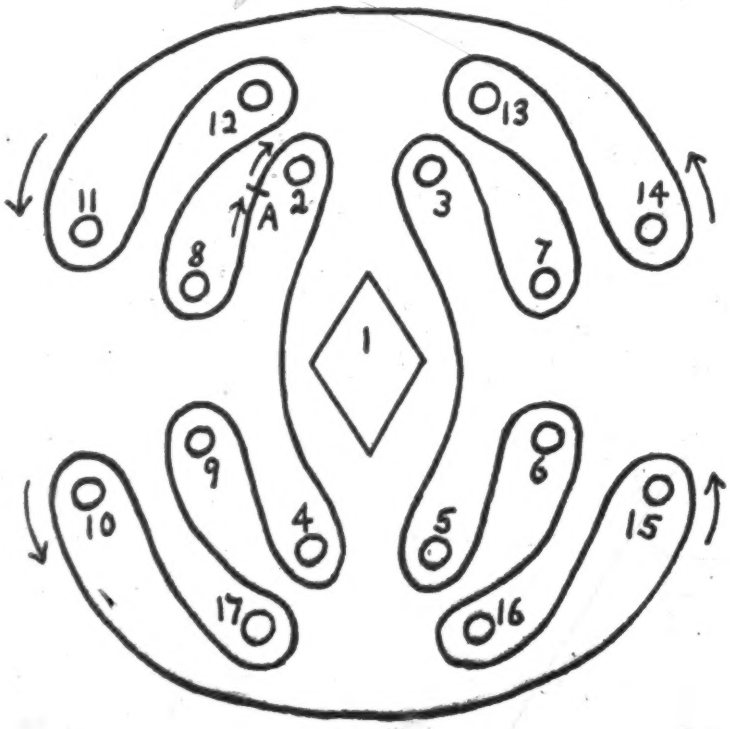

FIG. 73 (b)

Sand-tracing, Type B, drawn with the right index finger in the dust on the floor of the dancing-ground of Togh-vanu, on Vao. The design is called *na-wōr tangōo*, "badge of the *tangōo*," *tangōo* being the word for the diamond-shaped central figure.

The continuous line starts at the point marked A, proceeding in the direction shown by the arrow, till it joins up with itself again at the same point, thus forming a never-ending line. (Compare Deacon, 5, Figs. 61, 70 (Layard, 6, Figs. 15, 16), the latter having "arms" and "legs" tripled, and dots in place of small circles. See also Deacon, 5, Fig. 71 (unfinished).)

as threshold designs and as tattoo patterns and having, moreover, the same re-birth significance as the Malekulan designs.[1] This fact should have some bearing on the study of tattoo patterns in the Pacific.

[1] See also Type C, Hatched Designs, p. 681, and Layard, 7, particularly Figs. 1, 2, 3, 6, 33, 34.

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Fig. 74 is another design of the same type B originally representing the Guardian Ghost. The anthropomorphic features are more clearly distinguishable here, but in a technically degraded form, since the four-

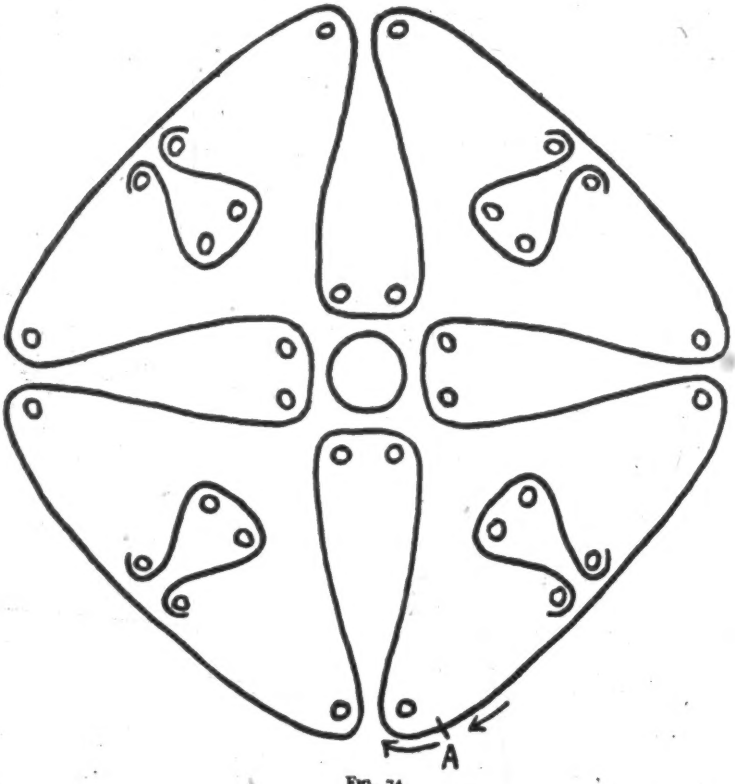

FIG. 74

Sand-tracing from Vao, Type B, called *kav*, "flying foxes," said to represent four flying foxes hanging on to a bread-fruit. The central circle represents the bread-fruit. This is drawn first, then the pair of small circles immediately below it, and the pair of circles immediately below them on the periphery of the figure, followed by the two corresponding pairs of circles in the three remaining directions. The never-ending line is then started at the point marked A, to which it returns. When this has been completed, the small circles representing the "nose" and "eyes" in the left-hand bottom section are made, followed by those in the remaining three sections, and after they have all been made, the curved lines are drawn round them. (Compare Deacon, 5, Fig. 64.)

fold repetition of the "eyes" and "nostrils" does not form part of the never-ending line, though they could easily be made to do so by joining them on to the exterior lines in each quarter of the figure. This design

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is called *kere*, meaning "flying foxes," and is said to represent four flying foxes hanging on to a breadfruit represented by the central circle. The connexion of this name with the Guardian Ghost lies in the fact that flying foxes, owing to their nocturnal habits, are said to be frequently inhabited by human ghosts.

Another design of this type, Fig. 75, drawn on Atchin, is similarly called *kara*, the Atchin form of the word meaning "flying fox." This

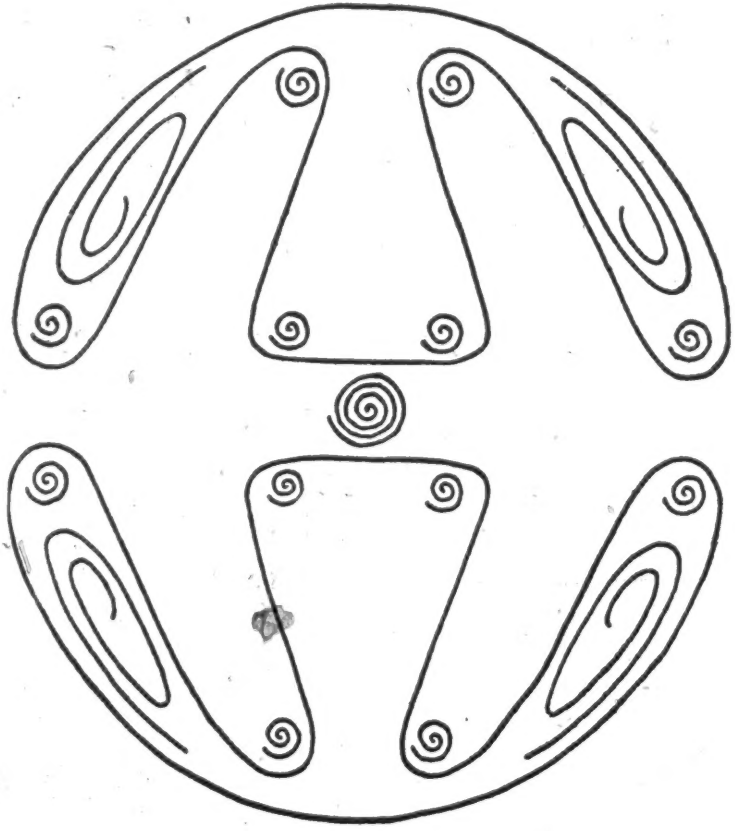

FIG. 75

Sand-tracing from Atchin, Type B, called *kara*, "flying foxes." Represents two flying foxes eating a bread-fruit. Note the substitution of spirals for small circles. The large spiral representing the bread-fruit is drawn first, then the small spirals, then the two continuous lines outlining the flying foxes, and last the four elongated spirals decorating their wings.

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design is peculiar in that it is divided into two halves and that the place of the small circles is taken by spirals. From an aesthetic point of view it is perhaps the most beautiful of the whole series. It is said to represent two flying foxes eating a breadfruit. The central spiral representing the bread-fruit is drawn first, then the other small spirals, then the two continuous lines outlining the bodies of the two flying foxes, and finally the four elongated spirals decorating their wings. Owing to the transformation of a single Guardian Ghost into two flying foxes a corresponding curious transformation has taken place in the naming of anatomical features. For, whereas the two upper spirals clearly represent what were originally the eyes of the female Guardian Ghost, these are now, from their position on the flying fox's body and regardless of the Guardian Ghost's sex, referred to as testicles, and the two inner spirals, which originally represented her nostrils, as the flying fox's eyes.

Fig. 76 is another example of the same type of design, though technologically degraded in that (*a*) the never-ending line in places retraces its own path, and (*b*) the central point is occupied by a cross similar to that in Figs. 64 and 65, which originally represented the labyrinth, so that we have here the amusing spectacle of a labyrinth inside the body of the Guardian Ghost! Nevertheless, this degraded figure is almost exactly similar to that said to represent the path followed by the ghost of a dead man on his way to the land of the dead in the Lambumbu district of West Malekula,[1] both figures being very interesting examples of the progressive loss of mythological knowledge regarding these designs the further they are removed from the centre of distribution of the labyrinth myth in South-West Malekula towards the north and east.

Fig. 77 is a yet more technologically degraded figure, combining both the linear framework of Type A and the small circles of Type B. In a similar example, drawn the other way up, from Atchin, seen in Fig. 78, the place of the small circles is taken by dots. It is a very common design, apparently originating in Ambrim, whence the Vao men bought the right to draw it, for in these islands even sand-tracings are copyright. Deacon records another example from an unspecified spot on Ambrim or East Malekula. In all cases the design represents warfare, though the alleged disposition of the forces varies in different places. Thus Vao Fig. 77 is called *na-hal na-ouro*, "The path of battle,"[2] and represents two bodies of men lying in wait for the enemy on either side of a path which runs between the two halves of the figure. The four pairs of circles are outposts, two on either side of each party, ready to give warning of the approaching enemy. Atchin Fig. 78 is similarly called *tibwis nor sa ar wahal*, "Some children go fighting." In the similar

[1] See Deacon, 5, Fig. 51 (Layard, 6, Fig. 21).

[2] The ordinary word for warfare is *saghal*. I do not know the special significance of *na-ouro*.

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design called "The Fight" recorded by Deacon,[1] however, the two sides of the figure represent, not two friendly parties lying in wait for

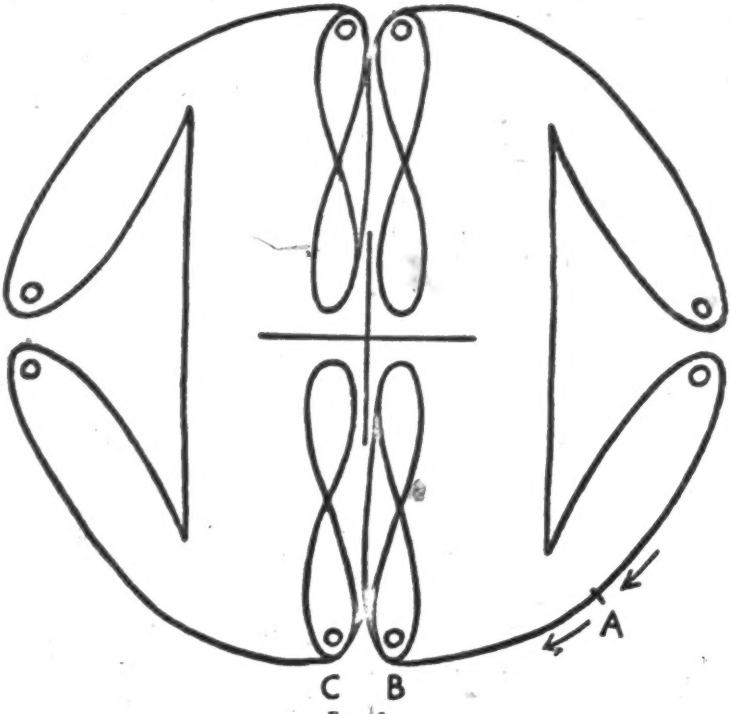

FIG. 76

Sand-tracing from Vao, Type B modified by Type A, called *sau-sŏr*, "cicatrisation," or "badge." The central cross (borrowed from Type A) is made first, followed by the four pairs of small circles, the two circles of each pair being made simultaneously with the first and second fingers of the right hand. The never-ending line is started at the point marked A and continued round the small circle marked B and centrally upwards till it reaches the top of the figure-of-eight, which is then described and subsequently partly retraced on the downward path in order to pass round the small circle marked C, which is then used as the focal point for a second figure-of-eight, after which the line passes to the left-hand side of the design, treating the upper two figures-of-eight in the same manner as the lower, and finally joining up with itself at A. The technique of this figure is thus seen to be degraded, in that in two of the figures-of-eight the continuous line passes over paths previously traced. (Compare Deacon, 5, 51 (Layard, 6, Fig. 21).)

the enemy, but the two opposing sides in the battle, said to be between some men of Ambrim and some of Raga, the dots at the sides (similar to those in the Atchin figure) representing the leaders and those in the

[1] Deacon, 5, Fig. 48.

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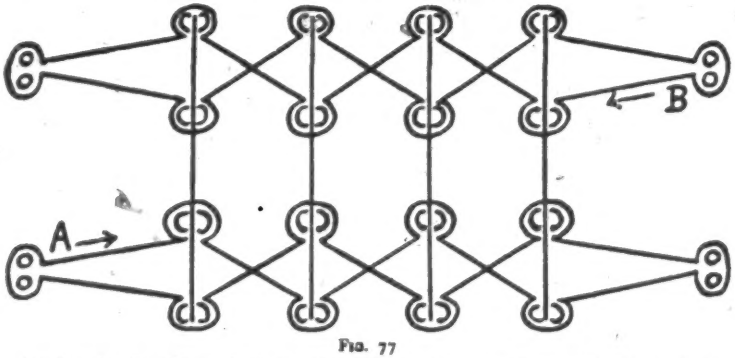

FIG. 77

Sand-tracing from Vao, mixed type AB. Called *se-hal se-ruro*, "The path of battle." The figure represents two bodies of men lying in wait for the enemy on either side of a road, which runs between the two halves of the figure. The four pairs of circles are outposts, two on either side of each party, ready to give warning of the approaching enemy.

The straight lines forming the framework are made first, then the pairs of semicircles on either side of the lines, then the four pairs of circles representing the outposts. Finally, the two are traced, the first beginning and ending at A, and the second at B.

The right to draw this figure was bought from Ambrim.

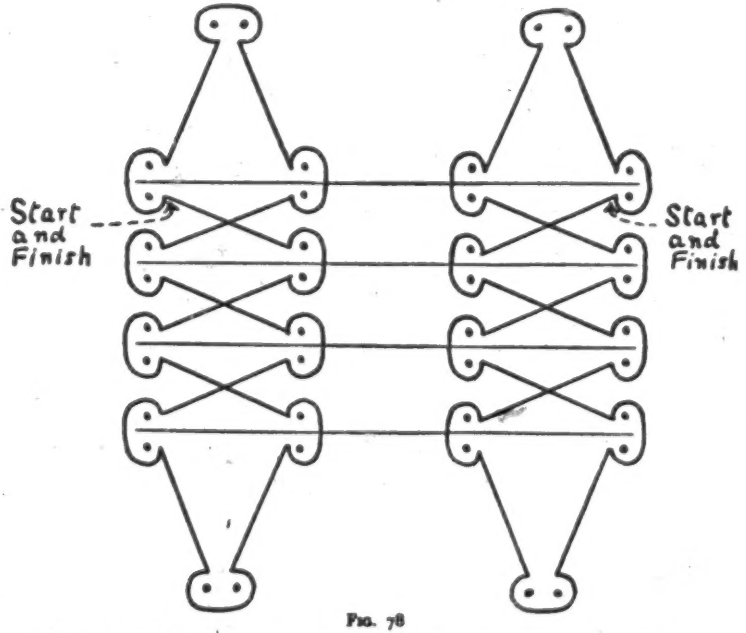

FIG. 78

Sand-tracing from Atchin, mixed type AB, called *tiburis nor sa ar mahal*, "Some children go fighting." Constructed in the same way as Vao Fig. 77, replacing the small circles by dots. (Compare Deacon, 5, Fig. 48.)

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centre the ordinary rank and file. It may or may not be significant that in the Vao and Atchin examples there are four central pairs on each side in addition to the "outposts," while in Deacon's example from Ambrim or West Malekula there are five. If this has any social significance at all, the change to four central and two external figures on either side of the Vao and Atchin designs probably correspond with the four Quarters of the parent village and the two Quarters of the offshoot village on Vao.[1]

TWO-FINGER TECHNIQUE

Some technologically degraded examples are drawn with two fingers making two parallel lines in the sand. Deacon recorded a small number of examples drawn in this technique, in which the doubled line follows the continuous-line technique. In Fig. 79 from Atchin, however, the continuous-line motive has almost entirely disappeared. This design, of which the scrolls resemble those outlining the faces carved on the ancestor-images on that island, is nevertheless called *net*, meaning a species of yam.

Type C

HATCHED DESIGNS

One further type of design that the natives of the Small Islands are fond of drawing on the ground is that of geometrical patterns hatched on the outside. Deacon records two such examples from East Malekula, one of which has a figure representing the Guardian Ghost in the middle.[2] What connexion the designs of this type have with those based on the labyrinth motive is uncertain. The same hatched technique is, however, used frequently in the case of certain marks on the body, of which illustration will be given in a future volume on Atchin, similar to that seen on one side of the rain-making image shown in Fig. 60. This last quite definitely represents a cicatrisation. It is interesting, therefore, to note that the Vao sand-tracing illustrated in Fig. 80 is called *wör batik*, in which the meaning of the word *batik* is unknown to me but in which the word *wör* is the same as the *wu-wör* we have already met with in Figs. 73 and 76 as meaning "cicatrisation." In view of the designs of this type seen on the rain-making stone it is interesting that the phrase *wör batik* is said in my notes to refer to "a certain kind of stone occurring on the Malekulan mainland." This is probably a mistake, and the

[1] See p. 91. Another design from Ambrim (Deacon, 5, Fig. 47), resembling one "side" only of the designs in this "battle" series and with only three central figures and two "outliers," is called "Dwarfs," and yet another similar to this from Seniang (Deacon, 5, Fig. 54) without "outliers" but with a few other manipulations, is called "Three Ghosts Sleeping."

[2] Deacon, 5, Figs. 30, 31.

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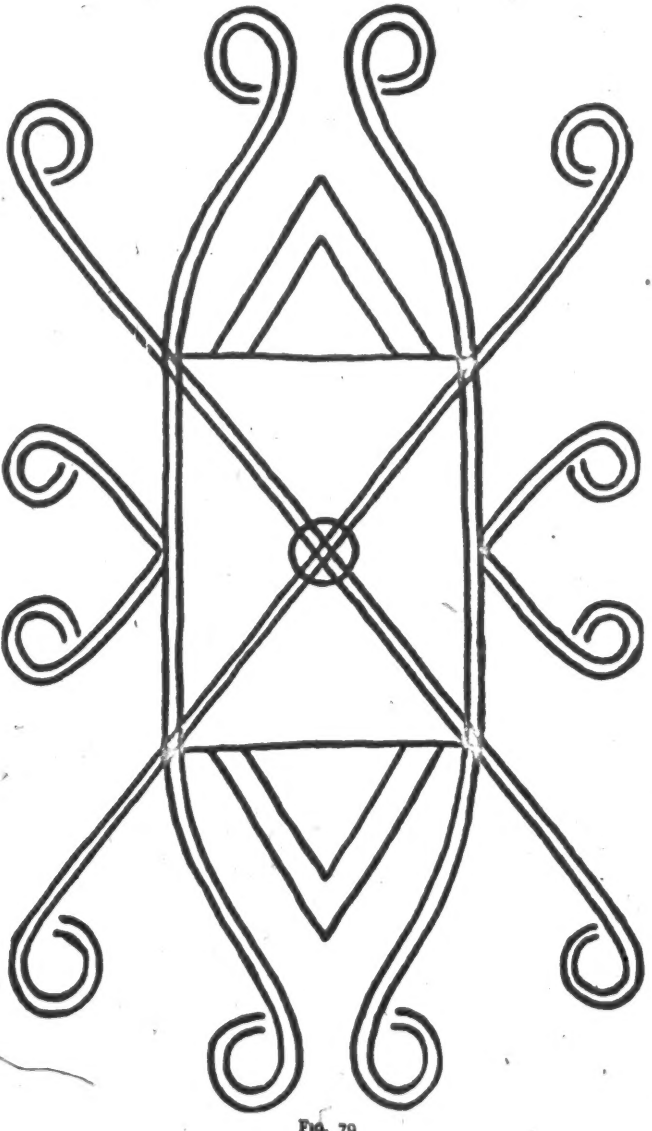

FIG. 79

Sand-tracing from Atchin, called *ast*, a species of yam. The double lines are made with two fingers dragged together through the dust.

(For other double-line sand-tracings from Malekula see Deacon, 5, Figs. 4, 57, 67, 82, 85, 86, 87. The technique is used also in the South Indian threshold designs (see Layard, 7, Figs. 2 (*b*), 23, 24, 25 and 36 (*a*), the last of which represents a variant of the labyrinth design on the coins of Knossos).)

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phrase probably refers rather to a mark incised on another rain-making stone. Similar hatched designs are found on the wooden cannibal hatchet illustrated in Fig. 59, one of which is bounded on the outside by four scrolls similar to those bounding the sand-tracing. These scrolls are similar to those bounding the faces carved on the ancestor-images used in the Maki on Atchin and Wala, but not on the Superior Side of Vao, and so appear to be connected with the later rather than the

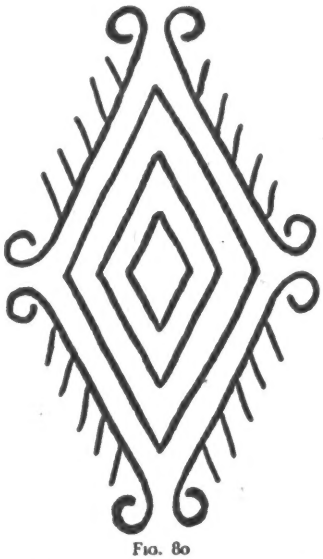

FIG. 80

Hatched design from Vao, Type C, called *sōr batik*. Constructed from outside inwards, the outer scrolls being drawn first, then the diamonds, beginning with the outer one and ending with the inner, the strokes forming the fringe being added last.

older forms of Maki. In view of the possible connexion with designs based on the labyrinth motive it is interesting to note that Fig. 80 is constructed from outside inwards, the outer scrolls being drawn first, then the diamonds, beginning with the outer one and ending with the inner, the strokes forming the fringe being added last. Similar hatched designs are found among the tattoo patterns of Tanna in the southern New Hebrides,[1] and also of South India, where they are found closely associated with others derived from labyrinth motives.[2]

[1] See Harrisson, 2, p. 332.

[2] See Layard, 7, Fig. 33.

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Another sand-tracing of this type is Fig. 81 representing a mask called *bot mŏl-mŏligs*, shaped like a kite, in which the influence of the small-circle technique of the designs is seen in the delineation of the eyes and nose.

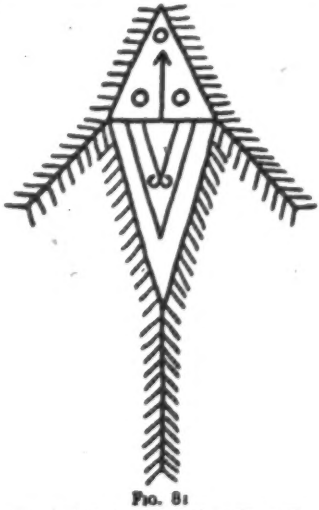

FIG. 81
Hatched design from Vao, Type C, representing a mask called *bot mŏl-mŏligs* in the shape of a kite.

OTHER DESIGNS

The natives also amuse themselves by drawing other kinds of design with the finger on the sand or soft ground. Fig. 82 from Vao is said to

FIG. 82
Sand-tracing from Vao representing a kind of bird called *ba-mbars*.

represent a small bird of the kind called *ba-mbars*,[1] similar to the birds carved below the face on some of the ancestor-images in the Maki on Atchin and Wala but not on the Superior Side of Vao.

[1] Atchin *puars-puars*.

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Fig. 83 from Atchin is said to represent a species of yam called *na-was*, probably referring to the tentacles with which the yam-vine attaches itself to the trellis up which it grows. 531

FIG. 83
Sand-tracing from Atchin called *na-was*, a species of yam.

Fig. 84 also from Atchin is of two geometrical designs called *wens*, said to represent the human face, sometimes used on the mainland as

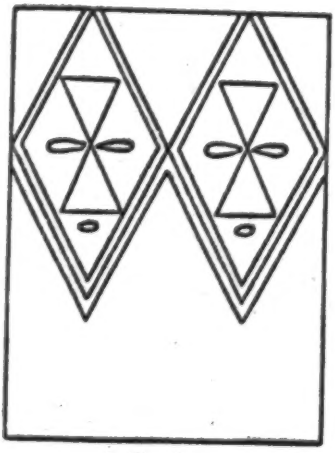

FIG. 84
Sand-tracing from Atchin of two geometrical designs frequently found carved on ritual objects, called *wens* and said to represent the human face.

a cicatrisation badge,[1] and carved on ancestor-images and other ritual objects such as the arm-badges seen in Plate XX.

[1] See footnote p. 671.